

# The Apocalypse of Samuel of Kalamun

An English version

by

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The Arabic source text of this translation is the one published in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* vol. 20: 376-392 by J. Ziadeh. The numbers in the translation are those of Ziadeh's publication. Ziadeh himself divides his text and the translation that follows it (pp. 392-404) according to the page numbers of the Arabic manuscript. I have consulted his translation, but my version is based on the Arabic text. I should make it clear that I am not an 'Arabist', that is to say, I have no formal training in that language. I have incorporated the Arabic text from Ziadeh's publication, so that each page of Arabic comes directly before the English version.

The document is a sermon that looks into the future. The Arabic word in the title means something like 'treatise, discourse'. The manuscript, Paris no. 150, containing the text is dated to 1322 AM (=1606 AD). Samuel's prophecy about the Arabs is briefly mentioned in the Synaxary (Patrologia Orientalis III, 408). F. Nau, in his note following Ziadeh's publication (p.406), believes this text to be a translation of an 8th cent. Coptic original 'dont on retrouvera peut-être quelques fragments au Faïoum'. Optimism should never be discouraged.

There are several versions of the life of Samuel, the most important being a complete text in Sahidic Coptic in the Pierpont Morgan library, one of a large collection of early medieval books from the monastery of St Michael at Hamouli (abbreviated in the notes to VitaSam).<sup>1</sup> There is also at least one Arabic version, which is in Franciscan Centre of Christian Oriental Studies in Cairo. It is an extremely late version that was produced on Sept. 29 1945.<sup>2</sup> There are probably others which I do not know about.

I have mostly used the future tense that uses the auxiliary verb 'will', in keeping with the

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<sup>1</sup> *Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter*, ed. and tr. A. Alcock (1983). References to this are made according to the paragraph numbers arbitrarily assigned by the translator to the text.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Muséon* vol. 109 (1996): 321-345 and vol. 111 (1998): 377-404.

English language conventions of prophecy. Samuel experienced the Arab conquest of Egypt, but apart from one unspecific reference in VitaSam,<sup>3</sup> there is no mention of this event or the presence of the invaders in the country, and it is fairly clear from this reference that the writer of it did not know or even care very much where the order for the requisition came from.

Language is an important factor in the text. In the early days of the Arab Conquest, Egyptians were no longer obliged to use Greek, the language of administration of the time, and were able to produce legal documents in their own language<sup>4</sup>, but inevitably Arabic replaced Greek as the official language. By the time this text was composed there was obviously a feeling that Christianity and the practice of it were under attack from Arabic, and it is probably why Athanasius of Qûs wrote a grammar of Coptic in the 13th cent., in Arabic of course<sup>5</sup>. Since Christianity, unlike Islam, has never regarded any one language as the sole language in which God spoke to Christians, it is difficult to imagine that there would have been any 'faith-based' reason for resenting the use of Arabic in Christianity, but it is not difficult to imagine that the Christian population, as it became increasingly smaller, was beginning to resent the conversions to another religion that many people must have been able to witness on a daily basis. The travesty of Islam that is presented on p.378 of the text is undoubtedly due to an excited fit of rhetoric.

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<sup>3</sup> §36: camels requisitioned to transport grain to Suez.

<sup>4</sup> For example, the substantial quantities of 8th cent. legal texts from Jême, the town which had grown up around the mortuary temple of Ramesses III on the west bank of Thebes.

<sup>5</sup> With the relatively bizarre title of *Qilâdat al-tahrîr fi'il 'ilm al tafsîr* (Necklace of writing in the discipline of interpretation) ed. and tr. Gertrud Bauer (1972).

## TEXTE ARABE

## مقالة صمويل رئيس دير القلمون

(fol. 20<sup>r</sup>) بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد له  
المجد امين

بُتدي بعون الرب سبحانه بكتب مقالة لابينا القديس انبا صمويل  
رئيس دير القلمون صلاته معنا أمين

قال فيها اقوال يسيرة على الامور التي تكون في ارض مصر في  
ملك الهجرة الاعراب وحضر لهذا القول اغريغوريوس اسقف  
القيس حضر لزيارته وان يبرى من مرضه اعني الاسقف وان ابلوا  
تلميذ الاب القديس انبا صمويل ينتظر هذه الموعظة لمنفعة من  
يقرى فيها ويحفظ ويعمل بالمكتوب فيها. كان لما ملك الهجرة  
العربية على ارض مصر كانوا قليل وكانوا يكثرنا الانعام على شعب  
النصارى حينئذ بدوا الاخوة الرهبان يتحدثوا مع الاب انبا صمويل  
عنهم ويستخبروه ان كان يدوم ملكهم على ارض مصر زمان طويل  
ام لا وان القديس تشهد من عمق قلبه بحضرة الاسقف وقال تبارك.  
الله الذي اقام الازمنة وحددها الذي يذل امة ويرفع امة ويقلب  
ملوك ويقيم ملوك اخر لاتظنوا يا اولادي الاحبا ان هذه الامة كريمة عند  
الله اذ سلم هذه الارض الى ايديهم غير ان حكمة الله غير مفحوصة  
للشعر وليس من الناس من يعرف اعمال الخالق ولا انقضا الازمنة  
سواه وحده اعلمكم يا اولادي بالشروع الكثيرة التي عملها  
الهراطقة بالارتدكسيين في زمان الاب ديسقورس وحتى الان وكثرة  
الشروع ايضا التي عملوها مع ابينا ديسقورس وكونهم نفوه الى الجزائر  
البعيدة (fol. 20<sup>v</sup>) وجلس ايروطارىوس على كرسيه وهو في الحياة  
وضع هذا ايروطارىوس بالمسيحيين شرور كثيرة وكان يطرد الاساقفة

A discourse of Samuel, Abbot of the Monastery of Kalamun.

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the One God. To him is glory. Amen.

We begin with the help of the Lord, praise to Him, to write the discourse of our holy father Anba Samuel, abbot of the monastery of Kalamun, may his prayer be with us. Amen.

In it he spoke of matters relating to the things which will happen in the land of Egypt in the kingdom of the Arab hegira.<sup>6</sup> The discourse was attended by Gregory Bishop of Kais, <sup>7</sup>who had come to visit him and be cured of his illness, I mean the bishop. Apollo<sup>8</sup>, the disciple of the holy Anba Samuel, expects <sup>9</sup>this spiritual counsel to benefit those who read it, memorize it and do what is written in it.

When the kingdom of the Arab hegira was over the land of Egypt, there were few of them. They multiplied their blessings on the Christian people. At that time monastic brothers spoke with the father Anba Samuel about them and asked him if their kingdom in Egypt would last a long time or not, the saint sighed deeply from the depths of his heart in the presence of the bishop and said, "Blessed be God, Who has established times and limited them, Who lowers one nation and raises the other and changes kings and sets up other kings. Do not, my beloved sons, think that this nation is favoured with God because He has delivered the land into their hands. No, the wisdom of God is inscrutable to man, and there is no-one who knows the works of the Creator or the end of times except One alone. I will instruct you, my children, in the many evils committed by heretics on the orthodox in the time of our father Dioscorus and, even today, and also the many evils that were done to our father Dioscorus, the fact that they exiled him to remote islands. His see was occupied by Irotarius while he was still alive. And this Irotarius<sup>10</sup> committed many injustices on the Christians. He banished bishops

<sup>6</sup> I have kept this term throughout. It probably refers here only to the 'immigration' of Arab Muslims into Egypt. E.W. Lane *Arabic-English Lexicon* (1863) p. 2880 says that the primary meaning of the term indicates removal from desert to town and ultimately emigration from one's own country.

<sup>7</sup> The episode is described in some detail in VitaSam §27. Gregory is obviously in some pain and is accordingly fairly unpleasant to people around him. He is also apparently greedy. But he is eventually cured of both his illness and covetousness by Samuel. There is no indication of prophecy. Indeed, the only 'prophecy' mentioned in VitaSam is in §38 concerning Stephanos the Presbyter, who is to become Bishop of Pemdje (Oxyrhynchus)

<sup>8</sup> For his key role in the practical affairs of the monastery cf. VitaSam cf. §§ 28 ff.

<sup>9</sup> An intriguing verb, and one can only speculate about why the writer of the text uses it.

<sup>10</sup> Dioscorus was exiled to the Island of Gangra after his failure at the Council of Chalcedon. His Constantinople-appointed successor, Proterius, was lynched by the Alexandrians after a couple of years.

ويقتل الارتدكسيين ويخرب الديارة [الديورة] وأما أوقيا لينوس ذو الاسكيم الزور فأنني أسكت عنه وليس استطيع ان اتكلم واصف شر اعماله التي صنعهم [صنعها] بمدينة يروشلیم وقتله الارتدكسيين والذي عمله أيضاً هذا الشكل الوحيش الغير مستوجب ان نذكر اسمه كبيرس المقوقز الطمث في اعماله هذا الذي ضيق على الارتدكسيين جداً وكان يطردهم من مكان الى مكان وهو بالجهد العظيم في طلب الاب بنيامين اذ كان يصر اسنانه عليه ويقول ليتني اجد ذو اللحية الكبيرة حتى آمر برجمه ولهذا سمع الله طلبه اصفياه الذين يصرخون اليه وارسل اليهم هذه الامة التي تطلب الذهب لا المذهب حسب طاعتهم وانا اختار الصمت يا اولادي الاحبا وليس اريد ان اشرح لكم ما يحل بالمسيحيين من امة الهجرة العربية في ايامهم ولتكنم لم تقدموا بذكراهم [بذكرهم] بيننا اليوم لانهم امة صعبة المراس لا يجب ان يذكروا بين مجامع القديسين آه من هذا الاسم الذي هو الهجرة ومملكتهم المخالفة لشريعتنا والملوك الجابرة الذي يقومون في ايامهم وكثرة الاتعاب التي تكون على الاجيال الآتية لكونهم يتبعوا اعمالهم حقاً يا اولادي لقد اخبرني ملاك الرب بازمة صعبة واتعاب كثيرة تلقا بني البشر من هذه الامة المتجبرة (fol. 21<sup>r</sup>) ليس اريد ان اتحدث من اجل هؤلاء الاعراب ومملكتهم الصعبة وانقضاء الازمنة كما كتب انه ليس لكم ان تعلموا الازمان والازمنة لان الآب جعل ذلك تحت سلطانه وحده لكنني اخبركم بيسير لربح [لاربح] نفوسكم وهذا الذي اقله لكم لا بد ان يكون في الاجيال الآتية حين يتركوا وصايا الله لكن كل من [كل من] له قلب متيقظ يحتفظ من ان يتشبه باعمال الهجرة فتخلص نفسه اريتم [ارأيتم] يا اولادي هذه الامة القليلة عددها لا بد ان يكثروا ويصيروا شعب عظيم جداً ويختلط بهم امم كثيرة ويكثروا مثل رمل البحر ومثل الجراد ومملكتهم تتقوى ويملكوا بلاد كثيرة حتى

and killed the orthodox, ruined the monasteries. And as for Uqilianus<sup>11</sup> of the false schéma (monastic habit), I will say nothing of him. I am unable to speak and describe the wickedness of the things done by him in the city of Jerusalem and his killing of the orthodox, which was also done by the wicked figure whose name is unworthy to be mentioned, Kabirus the Muqauqiz,<sup>12</sup> wicked in his deeds, the one who oppressed the orthodox greatly and drove them from place to place. He himself was at great pains to seek out father Benjamin, grinding his teeth about him and saying, "May I find him of the long beard so that I can order him to be stoned."<sup>13</sup> This is why God heard the prayer of the elect who implored him and sent them a nation who were seeking gold, not a religious creed,<sup>14</sup> according to their request.

I choose silence, my beloved children, and I do not wish to explain to you what will happen to the Christians at the hands of the nation of the Arab hegira in their days. May you not utter any mention of them among us today, for they are an intractable nation. They should not be mentioned in assemblies of the saints. Oh ! This name, which is the hegira and their kingdom and is counter to our laws, these high and mighty kings who have their day. Many are the tribulations that will happen to the coming generations because their deeds will truly follow them, my children. Angels of the Lord have told me of the difficult times and the many tribulations that will happen to the sons of man through this arrogant nation. I do not wish to converse about these Arabs and their kingdom and the end of times, as is written, 'It is not for you to know the time and times, because the Father has put this under his sole control<sup>15</sup> ', but I will tell you about what is conducive to the benefit of your souls, and this is what I say to you, 'It is inevitable that there will be in coming generations a time when you abandon the commandments of God, but everyone who has an alert heart will take care not to imitate the deeds of the hegira and his soul will be saved. My children, have you seen this nation of small size ? It will inevitably grow and they will become a very great people and different nations will blend in with them and increase like the sands of the seashore and locusts. Their kingdom will dominate and they will occupy many towns to

<sup>11</sup> The name Uqilianus is a copyist's error, probably for Ufilianus: the bearer of it seems to have been a monk. If it refers to Juvenal the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Egyptian hostility to him is probably driven by Juvenal's support for the condemnation of Dioscorus at the Council of Chalcedon.

<sup>12</sup> Kabirus is Cyrus, sent by Sergius Patriarch of Constantinople to Egypt in 631 to try to reconcile the Egyptians to Constantinople by means of a modified formula known as the Monothelite doctrine, which was considered to be possibly acceptable to monophysites. His nickname refers to his origins in Colchis on the Black Sea. He negotiated the so-called Treaty of Misr with the invading Arab army. His reputation among the Copts seems to have fairly negative, Francois Nau produced a short note in *Le Muséon* 45 (1932): 1-17 suggesting that he might have had the reputation of being 'un trafiquant de chair blanche'.

<sup>13</sup> Benjamin is described in VitaSam §7,20 as 'he of the long beard'.

<sup>14</sup> There is probably a wordplay here in the Arabic that cannot be reproduced in English: *ḡahab* (gold) and *maḡhab* (religious creed)

<sup>15</sup> Acts 1,7



المشارك والمغارب ويملكوا اورشليم مرار كثيرة ويختلط بهم امم كثيرة الجرجانيين (1) والعبرانيين واليونانيين والرهائيين والذين من آمد (2) والاميين والكلدانيين والفرس والبربر والسند (3) والهند ويعلموا ملكهم ويقيموا زمان قليل بسلامة مع النصارى وبعد ذلك تحسداهم النصارى على اعمالهم وياكلوا ويشربوا معهم ويلعبوا مثلهم ويمرحوا ويزنون مثلهم ويتخذوا لهم السراري مثلهم وينجسوا اجسادهم مع نساء الهجرة المخالفات النجسات ويضاجعوا الذكور مثلهم ويسرقوا ويحلفوا مثلهم ويظلموا ويغضوا بعضهم بعض ويسلموا (4) بعضهم الى الامم الغير رحومين ويخرج من افواههم كلام كثير بطل لا يجب ان يقال ويجعلوا صورة (fol. 21<sup>v</sup>) الله عني الانسان اصنافه كثيرة بعض يدعوهم خنازير وكلاب وحمير وكذلك نساء النصارى ايضا يتركوا العوائد الحسنة التي للنسوان المرتبات ويصيروا مجدفين بطالين ارباء السيرة سفهاء (5) الغايات ويقولوا ايضا الكلام [كلام] التجديف ويخرج من افواههم اقوال لا يجب ان يحكيها احدا [احد] اذ يجدفوا على الله حتى انهم يجسروا ان يقولوا بغير خوف انني افعل بالله الذي خلقني الويل ثم الويل ماذا اقول من اجل هذه الاعمال هكذي [هكذا] المغضبة لله بالكمال ولولا تحن الله وطول اناة روحه لما كان يمهل العالم بالحق ان المسيحيين يمثلون شرا في ذلك الزمان ويكونوا في كسل عن ذوات الله ومترهين في اغراضهم ويكونوا في ذلك الزمان محبين للاكل والشرب محبين الشهوات اكثر من حب الله وملازموا مواضع المقامات حيث الاكل والشرب اكثر من ملازمة بيعة الله ويكونوا جلوس في اشوارع الاسواق في اهتمام امور العالم ولا يهتموا بالبتة بالكنيسة ولا يخطر

(1) Province du nord de la Perse. — (2) Ville de Mésopotamie, aujourd'hui Deir-Békir. — (3) Nom de peuple qu'on ne peut identifier. — (4) Sind : Indus des Anciens, un des deux grands fleuves de l'Inde. — (5) Pour avoir la forme correcte de tous ces verbes, il faut ajouter la lettre ن. v. g. اسلمن etc... Cette omission est très fréquente dans le texte.

the east and west and they will occupy Jerusalem many times and many nations will blend in with them, the Garaganin, the Abranin, the Yunanin and Raha'in who are from Amid, the Amamin, the Kaldanin, the Fars, the Berber, Sind and Hind<sup>16</sup>. They will raise their kings and stay for some little time in peace with the Christians. After that, the Christians will envy them in their activities, they will then eat and drink with them and they will play like them. They will behave like them and fornicate like them. They will take a harem like them and defile their bodies with women of the hegira, who are transgressors and defiled. Like them, they will have intercourse with men. They will steal, swear and commit injustice like them. They will hate each other. They will deliver each other to merciless nations. Many vain words will come forth from their mouths, which it is not necessary to say. They, human beings, will make an image of God in many ways. Some will call them pigs, dogs and donkeys. Similarly, Christian women will also abandon the decorous habits that of orderly women and will become blasphemers, vain with loose garments, extremely shameless in their conduct. They will also utter words of blasphemy. Words will come forth from their mouths which it is not necessary for anyone to repeat. They will blaspheme against God until they dare to say without fear, "I will have an effect on God<sup>17</sup> who created me."

Woe and again woe ! What can I say about deeds of this sort, which anger God the Perfect One ? If God were not merciful and patient in spirit, He would not give the world respite in truth. Christians will adopt evil practices in that time and they will lose interest in the things of God, distracted by the objects of their desire, and in this time they will be desirous of eating and drinking, desirous of pleasures more than the love of God, they will be more attached to places of eating and drinking than to churches of God. They will spend their time sitting in streets and market places, caring about the affairs of the world and without any interest at all in the church and they will pay no heed

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<sup>16</sup> Georgians (perhaps), Hebrews, Greeks, Raha'in (perhaps related to the word 'arha' in Lane's Arabic Lexicon p.133 meaning 'independent tribe, in no need of others') from Amid (perhaps related to the word for 'extremity'), Amamin (perhaps related to the adjective meaning 'anterior' as in 'nuqta amamiya' meaning an 'outpost'). The rest are easily identifiable. Sind was conquered by Muhammad bin Qasim in the 8th cent. and the so-called Delhi Sultanate was set up in the 12th cent.

<sup>17</sup> This sounds as if it might be a colloquialism similar to the BrE: 'They'll do you', meaning 'They'll punish you'



بقلوبهم ان الفصول تقرأ وتفوتهم وحتى الانجيل ايضاً لا يسمعون وانما يحضروا الى الكنيسة عند فروع القديس وبعضا منهم يعملوا اعمال لا يجب اذ يشتغلوا باغراضهم حتى تفوتهم الفصول ويحضروا الى الكنيسة يأخذوا الانجيل ويستخبروا عن الفصل الذي قرى فيقفوا في زاوية وحدهم يقرأون ويصنعون ناموس (fol. 22<sup>r</sup>) نفوسهم الويل ثم الويل يا اولادي الاحبا ماذا اقول في تلك الازمنة وعظم الكسل الذي يلحق النصارى فانهم في ذلك الزمان يميلوا كثيراً عن الاستقامة ويشبهوا بالهجرة في اعمالهم ويسموا اولادهم باسمائهم ويتركوا اسماء الملائكة والانبياء والرسول والشهدا ويعملوا ايضاً عملاً آخر ان اخبرتكم به فان قلوبكم تتجع كثيراً وهو انهم يتركوا اللغة الحسنة القبطية الذي [التي] نطق بها روح القدس مراراً كثيرة من افواه ابائنا الروحانيين ويعلموا اولادهم من صغرهم ان يتكلموا بلغة الاعراب ويفتخروا بها وحتى الكهنة والرهبان يجسروا هم ايضاً ان يتكلموا بالعربي ويفتخروا به وذلك داخل الهيكل الويل ثم الويل يا اولادي الاحبا ماذا اقول في تلك الازمنة تكون القراءة في البيعة لا يفهموا ما يقرأ ولا ما يقولون لانهم نسوا لغتهم وهؤلاء بحق المساكين المستوجبين البكا عليهم لانهم نسوا لغتهم وتكلموا بلغة الهجرة لكن الويل لك نصراني يعلم ولده لغة الهجرة من صغره وينسيه لغة ابيه فانه يكون موخود [مؤخذ] بخطيته كما هو مكتوب ان الآباء تدان عن بنيهم ماذا اقول من اجل الانحلال الذي يصير في النصارى يكونوا يأكلوا ويشربوا داخل الهيكل بغير خوف وينسوا خوف الهيكل ويكون الهيكل عندهم كلاً شي وتبقى ابواب الهيكل سايبة ولا يبقى عليها نصف شماس لانهم (fol. 22<sup>v</sup>) يتهاونوا في السبعة [سعة] (1) طقوس الذي [التي] للبيعة ولا يكملوها وتجد الناس في ذلك الزمان يطلبوا رتب

(1) Ce mot peut se lire des deux manières indiquées. Dans le premier cas, peut-être s'agit-il des sept sacrements de l'Eglise.

in their hearts that the chapters are being read and passing them by, so that they no longer hear the Gospel. Indeed, they will attend Church only after the end of the Mass. Some of them will do things which it is not fitting for them to do, because they are consumed by their desires until the chapters pass them by. They will attend Church and take the Gospel and read the chapter that has been read and go into a corner by themselves, read it and make their own law for themselves.

Woe and again woe ! My beloved children, What can I say in these times ? And about the great idleness that grips the Christians ? They are in that time when they move away from uprightness and are like the hegira in their works. They call their children by their (Arab) names and abandon the names of the angels, prophets, apostles and martyrs. They also do other things. If I told you about them, your hearts would be greatly distressed. They are abandoning their beautiful Coptic language often used by our spiritual fathers to pronounce the Holy Spirit. They teach their children from childhood to speak Arabic and they are proud of it. And they do it in the sanctuary.

Woe and again woe ! My beloved children. What can I say about these times when the reading is made in the church and no-one understands what is being read or what is being said, because they have forgotten their language. They are truly wretched and deserve our tears because they have forgotten their language and speak the language of the hegira. Woe to every Christian who teaches his son to speak the language of the hegira from childhood and forget the language of his fathers, he is at fault, as it is written, "The fathers will be judged for their sons." <sup>18</sup>What can I say about the dissolution that is happening to Christians, who eat and drink in the sanctuary without fear and forget the fear of the sanctuary, for whom the sanctuary becomes as nothing. The doors of the sanctuary are neglected and there is not even half a deacon to watch over them because they consider the seven sacraments that belong to the Church of little importance and they do not perform them. You will find people in this time who are seeking any grade of

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<sup>18</sup> I cannot identify this quotation

الكهنوت وهم بعد لم يستحقوا إن يكونوا قراءة يقرأ على الشعب وتبطل كتب كثيرة من الكنيسة لأن ما بقي فيهم من يهتم بكتب لأن قلوبهم تميل إلى الكتب الغربية وينسوا كثير من الشهدا في ذلك الزمان لأن سيرتهم تبطل ولا تجد [توجد] البتة والموجود أيضاً واليسير من السير اذا قرا [قري] تجد كثير من الشعب لا يعرفوا ما يقرى لكونهم ليس يعرفوا اللغة وكنايس كثير في ذلك الزمان تكون خراب [خراباً] خالية في ليالي الاعياد وليلة الاحد أيضاً ولا يجدوا من يقرأ فيهم كتاب على انبل (1) وحتى الاربعين المقدسة الذي [التي] لخلاصنا. لا تجد من يقرأ على الشعب ولا يوعظه [يعظه] لانهم نسوا اللغة وليس يفهموا ما يقرؤه ولا يعلموا به وكذلك القراءة ايضاً لا يفهموا حتى ارسونوا المدينة الكبيرة التي للفيوم وكل اعمالها (2) حيث نواميس المسيح الحسان في كتبهم الاقويا في معرفة الله الذين لغة [اللغة] القبطية حسنة في افواههم مثل حلوة العسل فائحة منهم مثل روائح الطيب بحسن الفاظهم في القبطية وكلهم في ذلك الزمان يتركوها كلهم ويتكلموا باللغة العربية ويفتخروا بها حتى انهم لا يعرفوا البتة انهم نصارى بل يظن بهم انهم بربر والبقية التي تبقى في الصعيد يعرفوا اللغة القبطية ويتكلموا بها يشتموهم ويستهزؤا بهم (fol. 23<sup>r</sup>) اخوتهم النصارى الذين يتكلمون باللغة العربية الويل ثم الويل ما اعظم هذا الحزن وهذه الاعمال التي تعملها النصارى في ذلك الزمان بالحقيقة لقد تألم قلبي كثيراً في وصفي لكم هذه الاخبار ودمعت عيني وتشعر جسدي كثيراً لعل تظنوا بقي وجع قلب آخر اعظم من هذا اذ تجد النصارى يتركوا لغتهم الحلوة ويفتخروا بلغة [باللغة] العربية وباساميتهم اقول لكم يا اولادى بالحقيقة ان الذين يتركون اسما القديسين

(1) Forme vulgaire du mot inbon; nous l'avons, du reste, trouvé dans d'autres manuscrits: Il s'écrit encore sous les forme أنبان et أنبن. — (2) Cantons.

priest, because they no longer deserve to be readers who read to the people. Many church books become useless because no-one can understand them any longer. Their attention is diverted to foreign books and they become oblivious in that time of many of the the martyrs, because their lives become unnecessary and you will not find any of them at all. The few still existing, even if they are read, many people do not understand what is read because they do not know the language. Many churches in that time will also become empty ruins on feast days and Sundays. No-one is found to read the Book of the Anbal<sup>19</sup>, let alone the Forty Holy ones, which are for our salvation. You will not find anyone to read to the people or preach, because they are oblivious of the language and do not understand what they are reading or doing. The reading also is unintelligible to them, even in Arsinoe the great city in the Fayyum and all its districts, where the laws (or, possible nomes)<sup>20</sup> of Christ are. The blessed in their books, the strong in the knowledge of God are those in whose mouth is the Coptic language, as sweet as honey and as fragrant as perfumes because of the beauty of their pronunciation of Coptic. In this time they will all abandon it and speak Arabic and glory in it to the point where they no longer know that they are Christian, indeed one will think that they are Berbers.<sup>21</sup> The remainder who continue to live in the South, who know Coptic and speak it - their Christian brothers who speak Arabic will attack and insult them.

Woe and again woe ! How great in truth is this sadness and these things that Christians will do in that time. My heart grieves greatly as I describe to you these events and my eyes weep and my body feels greatly. Do you think that there is any other pain for the heart greater than this, to see Christians abandoning their sweet language and glorying in Arabic and in their names. I say to you in truth, my children that those who forsake their holy names

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<sup>19</sup>Possibly the pulpit (ambon), the book being the Gospel. The 40 holy ones may refer to the books of the Old Testament.

<sup>20</sup>Arabic word is the plural of 'nomos', which can also mean an administrative district. The Fayyum is a distinctive part of the country, fed by an arm of the river that ends in a lake. It was chosen by the Ptolemies (in the early 3rd cent. BC) as a place to settle veteran soldiers, perhaps because there would, initially at least, be little contact with Egyptians. A number of largely Greek speaking cities over the next hundred years was the result. It was probably no more Christian than any other part of Egypt, but there may be echoes of Rufinus' glowing account of the monastic life of Oxyrhynchus (*Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* Chapter 5)

<sup>21</sup> This may reflect the Classical Greek meaning of people who do not make intelligible sounds . Berbers, however, were not really too far away from Kalamun.



وَيَسْمُونَ اولادهم بالاسماء الغريبة الذي يفعل هذا يكون بعيد من  
بركة القديسين والذي يجسر ان يتكلم داخل الهيكل بلغة الهجرة فانه  
قد خرج من امر ابائنا القديسين في ذلك الزمان يعمل الناس خطايا  
كبيرة وليس لهم من يؤدبهم ولا يعلمهم ولا يتجمع قلبه عليهم لانهم  
كلهم يخطوا شيخهم ومعلمهم ويعلم الاب باثم ابنه ولا يؤدبه والامراة  
تستحسن لبنتها الردي ولا تؤدبها بل ستنزل معها في الخطيئة لان  
الخطيئة لا تكون لهم تبكيت [تبكيتاً] بل تحلا لهم لانهم يبقوا بلا  
معلمين فلذلك يزيدوا خطايا على خطاياهم وليس لهم من يعلمهم ولا  
يبكتهم بل كل واحد منهم يعمل اغراضه القس ليس يبكت الخاطي  
والكبير ليس يعلم الصغير والصغير ليس يطيع الكبير لانهم يتركوا  
قوانين البيعة ونواميس ابائنا القديسين حتى انهم يحلوا الاصوام المفروضة  
المعروفة والآخر[ون] الذين يصوموا منهم ليس يكملوا صومهم  
كما يجب لاجل البطنة ويكلفوا (fol. 23<sup>v</sup>) اناس آخر [آخرين] ان  
يفطروا معهم لان كل واحد منهم يقيم لنفسه ناموس كما يشتهي ومنهم  
اناس آخر لاجل الموازة والاخذ بالوجوه يفطروا قبل الوقت الذي  
فرض وقياس الظل في كل شهر بقياسه وتجدهم قيام في الكنيسة  
بانحلال وكسل ويتحدثوا مع بعضهم في الاعمال البطالة التي للعالم  
ولا يفيقوا البتة ولا يلتفتوا ان جسد الاله في الصنيعة ودمه في  
الكاس على الهيكل بل يكون ذلك السر المخوف عندهم مثل اللعب  
واذا غار واحد منهم بغيرة الله حتى يقول كلمة تعليم من القوانين  
فانهم يتخذوه عدواً ويفتحوا افواههم عليه مثل الاسد والنسا ايضاً يكونوا  
مستغيثين (?) في البيعة بكثرة الكلام والانحلال وليس لهم من يردهم  
والرسول بولس يقول ان النساء يجب ان يكونوا بسكوت في البيعة  
ويغطوا رؤوسهم وحتى الكهنة يصيروا بانحلال وتشتت وليس يخضعوا  
للتعليم الصحيح وان اهتم احد من الكهنة ان يقول كلام تعليم فانه  
يقوله بملك وبغير تحرق على الشعب وهذا يفضب الله عليهم لانهم

and give their children foreign names, which removes them from the blessing of the saints and emboldens them to speak in the sanctuary in a foreign language. Things are quite different now from the days of our fathers, when people do great wrong and there is no-one to correct them or teach them or grieve over them because all their hearts are in error, their elders and teachers. The father learns the faults of his son and the mother approves of her errant daughter and does not correct her, but joins her in sin. Sin is not a weeping matter for them, but is empty for them because they are without teachers. For this reason, sins multiply and there is no-one to teach them to weep for them, but every one of them does what he wants, the priest does not weep for the sinner, the elder does not teach the younger and the younger does not heed the elder, because they have abandoned the canons of the Church and the laws of our holy fathers, so that they will avoid the mandatory and known fasts, and the others who fast do not complete their fasts as is necessary because of their stomach and persuade other people to break their fast with them because every one of them is a law for himself.<sup>22</sup> as he wishes. There are other people who, for social reasons, break fast before the time that is appointed before the different times of sunset each month. You find them in the church, lounging and idle. They speak with each other about vanities of the world. They do not do not think at all or recall that the body of God is on the plate and his blood in the cup in the sanctuary. Indeed, the awe-inspiring secret with them is like a plaything. And if one of them is with God so that he says a word of teaching of the canons, they consider him an enemy and open their mouths against him, like the lion. Women gossip too much in the church and are neglectful. There is no-one to reply to them. The apostle Paul says, "Women should be silent in church, cover their heads."<sup>23</sup> The priests will become lax and distracted. They will not observe the right teaching, If a priest is interested in saying a word of teaching, he will say it with boredom and without any burning passion for the people. God will become angry with them because they

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<sup>22</sup> This is the second time that the concept of 'law to oneself' has been used. An echo of Romans 2:14 ?

<sup>23</sup> I Cor. 11,5



خرجوا عن قوانين البيعة والتعليم الذي لا بائنا الروحانيين فيسلط عليهم الهجرة الاعراب ويغضهم لهم فيخسروهم خسائر كبار وخراجات ثقال جداً لا يقدروا عليها فيكونوا بفقر عظيم ويفسد الهجرة كل الاعمال التي على الارض لاجل ثقل نيرهم ويأخذوا من الارامل والايام (fol. 24<sup>r</sup>) خسائر كبار ويشتموا الشيوخ ويضايقوا العذارى ويحاصروهم في بيوتهم على الخسارات ويهزؤا بمذهب النصارى وتكون الكهنة عندهم والرهبان مرذولين ويأكلوا ويشربوا ويلعبوا داخل الكنائس ويضاجعوا النساء قدام المذبح بغير خوف ويجعلوا كنائس الله مثل اضطرابات الخيل ويربطوا خيلهم ودوابهم فيها وقوات اليعبة تمضي وتبعد الى السماء لما يعاينوا من الاعمال الرديئة التي تعملها هذه الامة في البيع ويهدوا كنائس كثيرة ويساووهم مع الارض وينقلوا اخشابهم وطوبهم وحجارته (1) ويبنون لهم منها ليوانات ودور عظيمة وينزعوا الصلبان من على الكنائس وكنائس كثيرة ينقلوها ويصيروها لهم جوامع من اجل كبريائهم وبغضهم في النصارى والقديسين الشهدا ينظروا الاعمال التي يعملوها في مشاهدهم فيشكوهم الى الله ويقولوا اللهم انت ديان الحق احكم بيننا وبين هذه الامة الذي [التي] يعملون هذه الاعمال في كنائسنا نعم ايها الاله الصالح اصنع حكم معهم واجزيهم مثل اعمالهم حينئذ يسوع المسيح كلمة الاب ووحيد الابن يرضي قلوبهم ويعزيهم قائلاً تصبروا يا احباي المكرمين حتى يكمل زمانهم وكلما تروه من اعمالهم هي من اجل الخطايا التي يعملها شعبي وكونهم تركوا وصاياي واوامري وتشبهوا بهذه الامة لهذا يتسلطوا عليهم حتى يكمل زمانهم وان القديسين الشهدا للوقت يكفون عن الطلب اليه ويطولون ارواحهم حتى يكمل زمان الهجرة فاعلموا يا اولادي (fol. 24<sup>r</sup>) ان هذه الامة

(1) Ces pronoms sont dans la langue littéraire réservés aux êtres raisonnables. C'est le pronom ها qu'il faut ici.

ignore the laws of the church and the teaching of our spiritual fathers. He will put them under the hateful domination of the hegira Arabs, who will cause them to lose much and impose heavy intolerable taxes on them. They will be in great poverty. The hegira will destroy all the things on the land because of the heaviness of their domination. They will impose great losses on the widows and orphans. They will abuse the elders and oppress the young women and detain them in their houses because of taxes. They will insult Christianity. Priest and monks will be humiliated by them. They will eat and drink and play inside the churches. They will have intercourse with women before the altar without fear and they will make the churches of God into stables for their horses and tie up their horses and transport animals there. The powers of the church will go and rise to heaven when they see with their own eyes the disgusting things done by this people in the churches. They will demolish many churches and raze them to the ground, taking away their timber, bricks and stones. They will use them to build for themselves *liwans*<sup>24</sup> and large houses and remove the crosses from the churches. Many churches will be transported and made into mosques because of their pride and hatred of Christians. The saints and martyrs will see the deeds being done in their shrines and will complain to God and will say, "O God, who is divine right, judge between us and this nation which is doing these things in our churches. O God who is good, do what is right and give them their due for their deeds." Jesus Christ, the Word of the Father and Only Son will appease their hearts and console them, saying, "Be patient, my beloved and blessed ones, until their time comes. Every thing you see of their works is because of the sins my people has committed. They have abandoned my counsel and commandments and are like this nation. For this reason it will have power over them until its time is completed. The saints and martyrs in the present time will turn from their supplications and will be patient until the time of the hegira is completed. Know, my children, that this nation

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<sup>24</sup> In this context it probably means no more than a hall surrounded by a large house.

تصنع شرور كثير[ة] وظلم بارض مصر وسيقوى ملكهم جداً  
ويشغل نيرهم مثل الحديد ويكثر شعبهم مثل الجراد ويملكوا بلاد كثيرة  
وتصير تحت سلطانهم وظلمهم يكثر جداً في ارض مصر حتى  
تخرب الارض من كثرة الظلم ويأكلوا ويشربوا ويلعبوا ويلبسوا مثل  
لباس العرائس ويفتخروا جداً قايلين ليس يسلط علينا امة اخرى  
ابداً وسوف يمسحوا الارض بالقياس يأخذوا خراجها [خراجها] ويكون  
غلا كبير على الارض وتموت اناس كثير[ون] من الجوع ويكونوا  
مطروحين لا يجدوا من يدفنهم وتنام الناس في بيوتهم في الليل  
فيضحوا يجدوا على باب كل واحد ثلاثة نفر شرط يطلب كل شرطي  
نوع خسارة وتخرب حينئذ مدن كبيرة وبلاد وكفوراة وميناوات وتكون  
ارض مصر هذه الكبيرة الاشجار والبساتين مواضع ملح وحرش وصلافي  
لاجل كثرة الخراجات الذي [التي] يرسموها على الارض لانها  
امة متكبرة قليلة الرحمة ويشغل نيرهم مثل الحديد ويضايقوا الناس  
ويطالبوهم بالذهب ويعذبوا الناس الكبار والصغار ويثبتوا اسماءهم في  
الدفاتر ويطلبوا منهم الذهب على نفوسهم فتبيع الناس ثيابهم وعددهم  
ويدفعوها خسائر يأخذوا كل ما يملكه الناس باسباب يقيمونها لهم  
ويحشوهم عليها وينتقل الناس من مدينة الى مدينة ومن بلد الى  
بلد ويطلبوا راحة فلا يجدوها وفيما تنالهم هذه الصعوبات يدوموا بعما  
قلوبهم وليس يفهموا تاديب الرب لهم ولا يتوبوا ولا يطلبوا تعاليم  
(fol. 25r) البيعة بل يزيدوا على جملة خطاياهم لان الكبريا يقوى  
كثير في النصارى في تلك الايام ويتكبر بعضهم على بعض ويتدمروا  
على بعضهم ويهزؤوا بكلام الكتب المقدسة التي هي من نفس الله  
وحتى الكهنة والرهبان والقسوس خدام المذبح المقدس يكونوا هم  
ايضاً في مثل هذه الاعمال ويفتخروا ويقولوا انا ارتب من آباءنا  
وينسوا المكتوب ان الكبريا الذي في الانسان رذلة امام الله وعند  
ما يعملوا هذه الاعمال حينئذ تتسلط عليهم هذه الامة ويعذبوهم

will do much evil and wickedness in Egypt. Their kingdom will be very strong and their yoke will be heavy like iron. Their people will increase like locusts and they will occupy many towns, which will come under their power. Their tyranny will grow greatly in Egypt until the country is ruined by much oppression. They will eat, drink, play and dress like bridegrooms. They will glory greatly, saying, "No other nation will ever have power over us." They will survey the earth with the measuring rod and they will take taxes. There will be great inflation in the land. Many people will die of hunger and will remain discarded because there is no-one to bury them. People will sleep in their houses at night and when they awake they will find on their door three notices demanding a loss or ruin of some sort, from big cities, small villages and ports. Egypt of these large trees and gardens will become salty and scabrous because of the many taxes levied on the country by people who are proud and have little mercy. Their yoke is like iron. They will oppress the people and demand gold. They will count the people, great and small, and record their names in registers. They will demand gold for their persons (poll tax). People will sell their clothes to make up for their losses. They will take everything people possess, giving reasons which they establish for them and impose on them. People will move from city to city and town to town. They will seek rest and will not find it. While they are in these difficulties, they will continue in the blindness of their hearts. They will not understand the guidance the Lord gives them. They will not repent. They will not ask for instruction of the church. But they will add to the total of their sins because pride will be uppermost in the Christians of these days. They will try to dominate each other. They will annihilate each other. They will mock the Holy Scripture which is of God Himself. Even the priests, the monks and those who serve the holy altar, they too will do this sort of thing. They will boast and say, "I am more steadfast than our fathers." They will forget the Scripture that pride in men is repellent to God. As long as they do this, this nation will have power over them and will punish them



بالزائد كما كتب انهم اذا دنسوا حقوقى ولم يحفظوا وصاياي فانا افتقد بالعصى ائمتهم وبالسوط سباتهم صلوا يا اولادي الاحبا ان لا يكمل علينا هذا المكتوب فى المزامير ولكن نسال الله ان لا يتخلّا عن شعبه الى المنتهى بل يردّ غضبه الى تحنّ ورجزه الى سلامة وينظر الى شعبه المسيحى فى ذلك الزمان ويذكر عروسته الكنيسة ويرسل اليهم معونة سمائه ولا يصنع معهم مثل خطاياهم ولا يجازيهم مثل سباتهم فانا الان اوصيكم يا اولادي الاحبا واطلب اليكم طلب متضرع ان تبصروا من ياتى من بعدكم الى كمال الاحيال ان يحفظوا بنفوسهم غاية الاحتفاظ ولا يدعوا نصراني يتكلّم بالعربية فى هذه المواضع فان ذلك دينونة عظيمة لان كثيرين فى ذلك الزمان يجسروا ان يتكلّموا داخل المذبح بلغة الهجرة الويل ثم الويل لاولئك الذين هم هكذا كما قد سمعت انا من شيخ متعبّد لله لابس الروح كامل فى القدس وقال لي لما ان سألته من اجل امور الهجرة قال لي انظر يا ابني صمويل وافهم الذى اقله لك ان فى الزمان الذى (fol. 25<sup>r</sup>) يستجري النصارى ان يتكلّموا داخل المذبح بلغة الهجرة هذه الذى [التي] يجدفوا بها على روح القدس والثالوث المقدس الويل للنصارى فى ذلك الزمان ويل متضاعف سبعة اضعاف وان انا ابتديت يا اولادي ان اشرح لكم اقوال ذلك الشيخ القديس يكثر الكلام كثير ولكن نمسك عن الكلام فان الذى قلناه يكفي من كان له قلب يفهم فليفهم من تحفّظ من اعمال الهجرة فلا يشبه بهم فانه يقدر على خلاص نفسه فلما شرح الشيخ القديس ابنا صمويل هذه الاقوال التفت الى ابنا افلوا وجميع الاخوة وقال لنا هوذا قد سمعتم باذانكم اليسير من التعب الذى يلقا الاحيال الآتية الذين يجسرون ان يغيّروا القوانين المقدسة والتعليم الطاهر الذى لابائنا وعزفتكم عظم الشدة التى ينالوها فانتم ايضا يا اولادي الاحبا احتفظوا وثيقظوا فان الطوبى والبركات للذى يتحفّظ ويستيقظ

as it is written, "If they despise my laws and do not keep my commandments, I will chastise their error with the stick and beat their idleness with the rod."<sup>25</sup>

My beloved children, may what is written in the Psalms not come to pass over us, but let us ask God not to leave His people until the End. Let him turn His anger into mercy and His wrath into peace and look upon His Christian people in that time and remember His bride the Church. May He send them help from heaven. May He not act with them according to their sins and deal with them according to wrongdoings. I now advise you, my beloved children, and have a humble request of you to advise those who come after you to the completion of generations to keep themselves perfect and not allow Christians to speak Arabic in these places. This is a great judgement, because they are multiplying in this time and dare to speak in the language of the hegira in the sanctuary.

Woe and again woe to those who are like this. I have heard from an elder at worship, wearing the spirit and perfect in holiness. He said to me when I asked him about the matters of the hegira, he said to me, "My son, Samuel, understand what I say to you. In the time when Christians dare to speak in the language of the hegira in the sanctuary, this is when they will blaspheme in it against the Holy Spirit and the Holy Trinity. Woe to Christians in that time ! Woe seven times over !

If I begin, my beloved children, to tell you the sayings of that holy elder, my discourse will increase. But let us desist from this. What I have told you is enough. Those who have a heart that understands, let them understand. Those who keep themselves from the things of the hegira, they will not be like them and will be able to save their souls."

When the holy elder Anba Samuel finished his discourse, he turned to Anba Apollo and the assembled brothers and said to us, "Lo ! You have heard with your ears some of the tribulations to be experienced by future generations who will dare to change the sacred laws and pure teaching of our fathers. I have made known to you the greatness of the calamity that you will experience too, my beloved children. Take care and wake up, for goodness and blessings are for those who take care and wake up.

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<sup>25</sup> Ps. 89,31ff.



والان يا اولادي الاحبا احتفظوا وتيقظوا فان الطوبى والبركات للذين يعملوا حسب الاوامر الرسولية فلينجهد في كل حين يا اولادي الاحبا ان نبتعد من لغراض الشيطان ولا تتبع اغراض قلوبنا وجسدنا لان الشيطان يضل القلب ويطرح فيه افكاره واغراضه فلنهرب من اغراضنا والمسيح ينعم علينا بالخيرات في ملكوته الدائمة \* وصية \* احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا من التغفل لان الغفلة هي اصل كل الاوجاع وهي تربّي كل زوان احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا واهربوا من الشهوة فان الشهوة تجعل العقل مظلّم ولا تدع الانسان يفهم وصايا الله وهي تجعله غريب من روح القدس ولا تدع الانسان يستيقظ لمعرفة الله (fol. 26<sup>r</sup>) احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا في غرض الاهتمام فانه يجعل الانسان غريب من خيرات الفردوس احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا من النجاسة فانها تغضب الله وملائكته احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا من الكبريا فانها راس كل الشرور وهي تبعد الانسان من الله احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا من المجد الباطل وحب الرئاسة فان هؤلاء يفسدوا كل تعب الانسان ويضيعوه عند الله احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا الا تكونوا حيابين في الفضيلة فان الجبان الضعيف القلب الذي يعطي الكسل موضع فيه فانه يملأه من كل خطيئة ومن كل حجة بطالة اذا ما اتم حبتهم وتعبتوا (sic) بضعف قلب تفرطوا في قوانينكم وتكسلوا عن الصلوات والاعتاب فانكم تصبروا عنها من ناموس الله بل (?) كونوا قلوب سباع واطرحوا عنكم كل فكر يقاومكم واهربوا من كل راحة الجسد فان راحة الجسد تربّي فيه الزوان احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا من الزنا فان الزنا ذبح كثير وطرحهم الى اسفل والذي نزل بهم الى الجحيم لا يعودوا احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا لا تصادقوا صبي ولا طفل ولا تدخلوا الى موضع فيه امرأة فان الحجر اذا احتك بالزناد يخرج النار ويحرق هيولا كثيرة احتفظوا يا اولادي الاحبا واهربوا من كل الاعمال الرديّة التي تهبط الانسان الى الجحيم وتسلمه للعذاب واعملوا الاعمال الصالحة

Now, my beloved children, take care and wake up, for goodness and blessings are for those who act in accordance with apostolic commandments. Let us exert ourselves at all times, my beloved children that we may remove ourselves from diabolical desires and let us not follow the desires of our hearts and bodies, because the devil leads the heart astray and casts his thoughts and desires into it, so let us flee from our desires. Christ will bless us with good things in His everlasting kingdom.

**\*Advice\***

Take care, my beloved children, not to be negligent. This is the root of all pains and breeds all poisonous plants.

Take care, my beloved children, and flee from lust, for lust makes reason cloudy. It prevents people from waking up to knowledge of God.

Take care, my beloved children, not to be too concerned, for this alienates people from the benefits of paradise.

Take care, my beloved children, not to be defiled, for God and His angels will become angry.

Take care, my beloved children, not to be proud, for that is the chief of all evils and alienates man from God.

Take care, my beloved children, not be vainglorious and dictatorial, for these ruin every effort of man in the sight of God.

Take care, my beloved children, not to be cowardly in the virtues, for the coward who is weak of heart is the one who becomes idle and is full of every sin and every vain thing. If you are cowards and are too weak of heart, you will become negligent in your laws and lazy in your prayers and efforts. You will thus refrain from observing the laws of God. Indeed, be lion-hearted and cast from you every thought that opposes you and remove yourself from every bodily rest, the breeding ground of poisonous plants.

Take care, my beloved children, not to engage in adultery, because adultery sacrifices many and casts them to the ground. Those whom it takes to hell do not return.

Take care, my beloved children, do not befriend a youth or child and do not enter the place where there are women. for when the stone rubs against the flint, fire comes from it and burns much matter.<sup>26</sup>

Take care, my beloved children, and flee from all evil things that cast man into hell and deliver him to punishment. Do the works of goodness

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<sup>26</sup> Arabic form of the Greek *“υλη*

المودية الى ملكوت السماء وهي الطهارة الاتضاع الصلاة الصوم النسك  
 الصبر الاتعاب طول الروح المحبة البلامة الحلاوة الاخوة قبول التعب  
 الذلة القمأة واطرحوا (fol. 26<sup>v</sup>) عنكم كل كسل وكل جين وكل غضب  
 وكل ضعف قلب فان اياهنا انما كملوا سيرتهم بالذل الكثير جيع  
 عطاش مبتعدين من شرب الخمر كله جملة كلية فان كل اضطراب  
 الشهوات تكون في اعضا الانسان من كثرة شرب الخمر لان الخمر  
 يهيج الشهوة ويجعل الشهوة غير محتشمة وهو يقطع لحم الجسد وعلى  
 الجملة ان الاكثار من الخمر يحزن الروح القدس وياهنا يعلموا كثرة  
 الحيزان [الاحزان] الذي كان من الخمر من البدء فابتعدوا منه وانما  
 يستعمل القليل منه في الامراض الصحية فان كان الناسك العظيم طيماتاوس  
 اذن له ان يشرب من الخمر اليسير لعله معدته وكثرة امراضه فاذا ما  
 افعل من اجل من الذين هم بغليان الشبوبة الذي [الذين] تتواتر عليهم  
 الاوجاع بقوة فان يا اولادي الاحبا حيد هو التحفظ في كل الامور  
 وربح كبير هو الذل لان الذي يذل نفسه فهو يخلصها ويوصلها الى  
 مينا الخلاص ويشبع من خيرات يروشلیم السماية فالان انا اوصيكم  
 بكل ضبط وتحفظ ان تتمسكوا وتعملوا بكل الوصايا التي اوصيتكم  
 بها والقوانين التي اسلمت اليكم واوصوا اولادكم يوصوا من ياتي  
 من بعدهم حتى الى آخر الاجيال الآتية ان يحترسوا ويحفظوا  
 باعمال الرهبانية لكي يستحقوا ميراث ملكوت السماوات لانه سيكون  
 زمان تكون رهبان كثير يمرحون ويلعبون فيجذف على الرهبانية  
 بسببهم ويطرحوا عنهم القوانين والفرائض....؟ الثابتة المصايح المضينة لارض  
 مصر العظما بحق اللابسين الروح القدس بحق العظيم (fol. 27<sup>r</sup>)  
 انطونيوس وابو مقار وانا بخوم وابو شلوذه هؤلاء الذين بطلباتهم  
 تستعمر ارض مصر هؤلاء هم الذين وضعوا لنا قوانين واوجبوها على  
 الرهبنة واما نحن فقد كملنا اعمالهم المستقيمة وسمعنا من تعاليمهم  
 المقدسة واقتسناها واتم يا اولادي الاحبا احتفظوا بكل ما قلته لكم

that lead to the kingdom of Heaven. These are: purity, humility, prayer, fasting, asceticism, patience, exertion, endurance, charity, peace, sweetness, brotherly love, acceptance of pain, humbleness. Cast away from you all idleness, all destruction, all anger, all weakness of heart because our fathers indeed completed their lives in great humility in hunger and thirst, refraining from drinking any wine. The disturbances caused by lust are in the limbs of man from too much wine-drinking. Wine increases shameless lust. It cuts the flesh of the body and, in general, most wine depresses the Holy Spirit. Our fathers knew much of the sadness that comes from wine from the beginning. They refrained from it. Indeed, a little of it was used in illness. The great ascete Timothy was allowed to drink small quantities of wine for his illness and many sicknesses.<sup>27</sup> What shall I do about those at the height of youth who develop strong pains. My beloved children, all observance of the commandments is good. Humility is a great benefit. What humbles the soul saves it. It conveys it to the port of salvation and is full of the good things of heavenly Jerusalem. Now, I advise you strongly to continue to restrain yourselves and do what I advise you and observe the laws which have been handed over to you. Advise your children to tell those who come after them until the end of generations to come that they observe and keep to the monastic works that they may deserve the legacy of the heavenly kingdom. For there will be<sup>28</sup> a time when many monks will relax and play and there will be blasphemy about the monastic life because of them. They will discard the laws and obligations<sup>29</sup>... the land of Egypt the great ones by the right of those who wear the Holy Spirit and by the right of the great Antony, Apa Macarius, Apa Pachomius, Apa Shenoute<sup>30</sup>, those by whose intercessions Egypt continues to exist and those who have imposed the laws on us and imposed them on monasticism. As for us, we have done their upright deeds and we have listened to their holy teaching and kept to it. As for you, my beloved children, heed what I have said to you

<sup>27</sup> A fairly well-known passage (1 Tim. 5, 23), also used in VitaSam, to justify giving wine to a monk whose stomach may have suffered from the ravages of excessive ascetic practices.

<sup>28</sup> The prefix indicating the future is used here.

<sup>29</sup> There is clearly a problem in the text. Ziadeh's translation ignores the next few words, which may be rendered tentatively as 'the fixed star of the past luminaries of the land of Egypt', but the passage seems to be corrupt and best left to an Arabist for repair.

<sup>30</sup> Missepl as 'Shaloudha'. The error is probably a writing error: the dot over the 4th letter belongs to the 2nd letter.



اليوم وكل بنيان الرهبة الذي وضعته لكم ابائنا الروحانيين واوصوا  
 من ياتي بعدكم الى حيل الاحيال الاتية ان يحفظوا بكلما قلته لكم  
 اليوم كما قال الرسول بولس تشبهوا بي كما اني تشبهت بالمسيح  
 كذلك اتم يا اولادي الاحبا تشبهوا بي واقتفوا اثارى كما اقتفيت اثار  
 ابائى القديسين اذا ما احتفظتم بما اوصيتكم به فان والددة الاله تسال  
 ابنها الحبيب فيكم لانكم مقيمين فى ديارها كما عاينت انا مرارا كثيرة  
 وتظرتها بعيني فى هذه البيعة وسمعتها باذني قايلة ان هذا هو مسكني  
 انا احل فيه لاتي احبته مع عبدي صمويل ومع كل اولاده الاتية  
 بعده المتمسكين بوصاياهم فالواجب عليكم يا اولادي الاحبا ان تكملوا  
 تكميل حسن كل الوصايا وبنيان الرهبانية كله فانكم اذا كملتوا ذلك  
 استحققتم ان تنظروا والددة الاله العذرى القديسة مريم كما  
 رايتها انا واوعدت بكرامات كثيرة للذين يسكنون هذه البرية والذين  
 يزورونها ويتباركون بها ويسالوا فيها مغفرة خطاياهم طوباكم يا اولادي  
 الاحبا لانكم استحققتم ان تسكنون [تسكنوا] فى ديار العذرا الطاهرة  
 مريم وترتلوا وتسبحوا الله فى هذه الكنيسة التي اختارها لها والددة الاله  
 (fol. 27<sup>v</sup>) مسكن طوبا لمن يخطوا [يخطو] خطوة آتيا الى هذه  
 الكنيسة بامانة اقول لكم يا اولادي الاحبا ان والددة الاله مريم  
 تسال ابنها الحبيب يقبل توبته ويغفر جميع خطاياهم طوبا للذين  
 يقدمون قربان فى هذه البيعة المقدسة اقول لكم ان والددة الاله تشفع  
 فيه عند الله يقبل قربانه فى يروشلیم السمائية والذي ينذر نذرا لهذه  
 الكنيسة ويسرع بدفعه اقول لكم ان العذرا مريم تقبل نذره  
 وتكمل طلبته بسرعة الذي يكتب هذا الكلام المقدس ويضعه فى  
 البيعة يقرى [يقرأ] فيه لربح النفوس لكل من يسمعه ويحفظ به  
 ويعمل بما رسم فيه ويتعدوا من الطريق المعوجة فان نفوسهم تخلص  
 اقول لكم ان العذرا مريم تسال ابنها الحبيب فيه يخترق رق خطاياهم  
 ويكتب اسمه فى سفر الحياة فالان يا اولادي الاحبا اذا ما احتفظتم بما

today and every monastic declaration which our spiritual fathers have set for you, advise those who come after you in generations to come to heed everythin word that I have said to you today, as the Apostle Paul, "Be like me, as I am like the Messiah."<sup>31</sup> So, my beloved children, be like me and follow in my footsteps, as I have followed in the footsteps of my holy fathers. If you heed what I have advised, the Mother of God will ask her beloved son for you, because you are in her dwelling place, as I have seen with my own eyes many times. I have seen her with my eyes in this church and heard her with my ears, saying, "This is my dwelling and I live in it, because I love it, with my servant Samuel and his children who will come after him and seize his advice."<sup>32</sup> You must, my beloved children, complete well all the advice and monastic rules. If you complete them, you will deserve to see the Mother of God, the Blessed Virgin, Our Lady Mary, as I myself have seen here. She has promised many blessings for those who will occupy this desert and who visit it, seek blessing in it, ask forgiveness for their sins.

Blessed are you, my beloved children, because you deserve to live in the dwelling place of the Pure Virgin, Our Lay Mary. You sing and bless God in this church chosen by the Virigin as her dwelling place.

Blessed is the one who comes to this church in faith. I say to you, my beloved children, that the Mother of God, Our Lady Mary, will ask her beloved Son to be kind enough to forgive our sins. Blessed is the one who offers sacrifice in this holy church. I say to you that the Mother of God will intercede on his behalf with God that He receive his sacrifice in heavenly Jerusalem. He who makes a vow to this church and hastens to fulfill it, I say to you that she will accept his vow and fulfill his request with all speed. He who writes this holy discourse and puts it in the church to be read for the benefit of the souls of everyone who hears it and heeds it and acts according to it, they<sup>33</sup> will leave the path of crookedness and their souls will be saved. I say to you that the Virgin will ask her beloved Son to cancel sins and write his name in the Book of Life.

Now, my beloved children, if you heed what

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<sup>31</sup> I Cor. 11,1

<sup>32</sup> VitaSam § 25, in which Mary measures out the ground for a new church after Samuel has returned to Kalamun after his captivity in the Siwa Oasis. Measuring out the area for a new temple was not uncommon in pharaonic Egypt, e.g. detailed account of the foundation ceremony at Edfu on the N.E. wall of the Outer Hypostyle Hall.

<sup>33</sup> The Arabic does what English often does: from 'he who ...' to 'they will', where the second pronoun is, strictly speaking, non-anaphoric.



أوصيتكم به فإن البتول مريم تشفع فيكم عند ابنها الحبيب فيخضع  
 أقدامكم تحت أقدامكم وتطوا على راس التنين وتكسروا كل قوة  
 العدو إذا ما احتفظتم بما قد أوصيتكم فإن الملوك والولاة يقدموا لكم  
 الهدايا والاراختة يقدموا لكم الكرامات والبربر تخضع لكم فاحرصوا  
 بكل قوتكم يا اولادي الاحبا ان تكملوا بنشاط صلواتكم المرسومة  
 في ساعات النهار واجتماع الصلوة في الليل واحتفظوا ان لا تغثروا البنان  
 الذي وضعه لكم لنلا تكونوا تحت دينونة عظيمة احتفظوا بكل  
 تحفظ يا اولادي الاحبا بكلما أوصيتكم به لكي تكونوا بنين لملكوت  
 السماوات احتفظوا من ان تتحدثوا في وقت القداس فان هذا اثم عظيم وان  
 يكون في البيعة ترتيل وقراءة (fol. 28<sup>r</sup>) موعظة لربح النفوس وتشتغل اناس  
 بالحديث فليعلم كل من يتحدث في الكنيسة انه يكون مرذول عند  
 الله وملايكته ووالدة الاله تغضب عليه وتكون صلاته طمثة وهو مطلوب  
 بالجواب على خلفه [مخالفته] ولا يتصرف احداً [احد] في هذه الكنيسة  
 سوا الذين كرزوا [كرسوا] عليها واوصوا اولادكم يوصوا من ياتي  
 بعدهم الى آخر الاحيال الآتية لا يتكلم احد داخل المذبح بلغة  
 الهجرة فان من فعل ذلك يكون مستوجب اللعنة هوذا قد قلت لكم  
 اولادي الاحبا فمن سمع واحتفظ فانه يخلص فلما قال هذه الاقوال  
 نعني اينما القديس انبا صمويل والحاضرين يسمعه واذا الاب الاسقف  
 انبا اغريغوريس بكاء بكاء مراراً حتى بل ثيابه بدموعه من اجل المزمع  
 ان يكون فقال له الاب انبا صمويل يا ابني هذا هو ادب يسير يودب  
 الله به اهل ذلك الجيل فان اتا عليهم انتقام خطاياهم التي يعملونها  
 من يستطيع الوقوف كما هو مكتوب ان واخذت با لخطايا يا رب يا رب  
 من يستطيع الوقوف قدامك وايضاً كما قال الاصلح لي انك ذللتني  
 لكي احفظ حقوقك وارضاً يقول ادب ادبني الرب والى الموت لم  
 يسلمني فمن قبل تاديب الرب بشكر واعتراف اذ يقر بخطايه ولا يعود  
 اليها دفعة اخرى فانه يخلص كل من يقبل تاديب الرب بشكر وتصبر

I have advised you, the Virgin will intercede on your behalf with her beloved Son and he will crush your enemies under your feet and you will trample on the head of the monster and you will break the power of the enemy. If you heed what I have advised you, the kings and governors will offer you gifts, archons will give you honours. Berbers/Barbarians will submit to you. Use all your strength to say your prescribed prayers of the day and the night. Take care not to change the rule which I have imposed on you so that you will not be under a great judgement. Heed all that I have advised you, my beloved children, that you may be children of the kingdom of Heaven. Take care not to talk during Mass, for this is a grave error. Though singing and reading of the sermon in church are for the benefit of the souls, people engage in conversation. Everybody who talks in church, let him know that he is not acceptable to God and His angels and the Mother of God will be angry with him. His prayer will be rejected by God and he will be required to answer for his disobedience. Let nobody act in this church except those consecrated. Advise your children who come after you for future generations that nobody should speak in the sanctuary in the language of the hegira. Anyone who does this will be cursed. I have said these things to you, my beloved children. He who hears and heeds will be saved."

After he had finished his discourse, our holy father Anba Samuel, and those present heard him, Bishop Gregory wept bitterly until his garments were soaked in his tears because of what was imminent. Anba Samuel said to him, "My son, this is a minor punishment from God to the people of this generation. If the correct punishment of their sins which they have committed were visited upon them, who could resist, as it is written, "If you pay attention to sin, o Lord, who can stand before You ?" <sup>34</sup>

In addition, as it is written, "It is good for me that you have humiliated me that I may observe your laws" and "The Lord has punished me severely, but to death has not delivered me." <sup>35</sup>Whoever accepts the punishment of the Lord thankfully and confesses his sins, he will not return there again. for everyone who accepts the punishment of the Lord thankfully and patiently will be saved.

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<sup>34</sup> Ps. 130,3

<sup>35</sup> Ps. 119 (I cannot be more specific, and this may be the wrong place)

لَمَّا يَأْتِي عَلَيْهِ مِنْ أَجْلِ الْمَسِيحِ فَهُوَ يَخْلُصُ كَمَا قَالَ الْإِنْجِيلُ الْمُقَدَّسُ  
 أَنَّ الَّذِي يَصْبِرُ إِلَى الْمُنْتَهَى هُوَ يَخْلُصُ وَأَمَّا الَّذِي يَضْجُرُ وَيَشْكُ  
 الْوَيْلَ لَهُ إِلَى الْأَبَدِ لِأَنَّ نَصَارَى كَثِيرَ فِي ذَلِكَ الزَّمَانِ يَجْحَدُونَ الْمَسِيحَ  
 مِنْ أَجْلِ زَمَانٍ يَسِيرُ يَزُولُ بَعْضُهُمْ يَجْحَدُ الْمَسِيحَ مِنْ أَجْلِ الْإِتْعَابِ  
 الَّتِي عَلَيْهِمْ وَكَوْنُهُمْ (fol. 28<sup>v</sup>) مَا يَجِدُوا مِنْ يَعْلَمُهُمْ وَلَا يَعْرِضُهُمْ فِي أَتْعَابِهِمْ  
 فَيَعْدُمُوا مَعُونَةَ التَّعْلِيمِ وَيَسْقُطُوا أَنْاسٌ كَثِيرٌ مِنْ أَجْلِ تَطَاوُلِ الدُّنْيَا الَّتِي  
 قَدْ ارْتَبَطَتْ عَقُولُهُمْ بِهَا وَلَمْ يَجِدُوا مَنْ يَنْقُضُهُمْ فَيَسْقُطُوا وَبَعْضٌ مِنْ أَجْلِ  
 تَلَذُّذِ الْأَكْلِ وَالشَّرْبِ فَقَطَّ يَسْقُطُوا وَبَعْضٌ مِنْ أَجْلِ رَاحَةِ الْجَسَدِ  
 وَظِلَالَةٍ [وَضَلَالَةٍ] الْخَطِيئَةِ يَسْقُطُوا ثُمَّ إِنَّ أَخَوْتَهُمْ وَأَنْسِبَاءَهُمْ لَيْسَ يَكُونُ  
 عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا يَحْزَنُوا عَلَيْهِمْ بَلْ يَفْتَخِرُوا بِهِمْ وَيَأْكُلُوا وَيَشْرَبُوا مَعَهُمْ وَبَعْدَ  
 ذَلِكَ يَحْسُدُوهُمْ وَيَتَشَبَّهُوا بِهِمْ وَيَجْحَدُونَ الْمَسِيحَ مِثْلَهُمُ الْوَيْلَ لِلَّذِينَ  
 هُمْ هَكَذَا لِأَنَّ مَقَامَهُمْ فِي الْجَحِيمِ يَكُونُ بَيْرَ الْعَمَقِ إِلَى الْأَبَدِ فَقَالَ  
 لَهُ الْآبُ اغْرِغُورِيْسُ يَا أَبِي الْقَدِيسُ أَتَرَى الْأَمْرَ يَبْطِئُ وَحَتَّى مَتَى  
 تَدُومُ هَذِهِ الصَّعُوبَةُ وَهَذِهِ الْأُمَّةُ مَالِكَةٌ عَلَى أَرْضِ مِصْرَ فَقَالَ لَهُ الْقَدِيسُ  
 أَنْبَا صَمُوئِيلُ يَا أَبِي أَنْبَا اغْرِغُورِيْسُ لَيْسَ يَعْرِفُ أَحَدٌ تَدْبِيرَ الْإِزْمَةِ  
 وَتَقْلِبَهَا سِوَى الْخَالِقِ وَحْدَهُ وَلَكِنْ إِذَا تَابُوا النَّصَارَى وَرَجَعُوا عَنْ  
 أَعْمَالِهِمُ الْبَرْدِيَّةِ وَتَمَمُوا قَوَانِينَ الْكَنِيسَةِ وَيَسْلُكُوا فِيهَا بِحِرْصٍ وَتَحْفَظَ  
 وَاسْتِقَامَةً إِمَامُ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يَرْفَعُهُمْ عَنْ هَذِهِ الْإِتْعَابِ وَإِذَا لَمْ يَتُوبُوا فَإِنَّهَا  
 تَدُومُ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ إِلَى كَمَالِ مَمْلَكَةِ الْهَجْرَةِ آخِرِ مُلُوكِ الْهَجْرَةِ وَآخِرِ  
 مُلِكٍ يَقُومُ مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ اسْمُهُ لِسْمَرْيَنِي وَعَدَدُ اسْمِهِ سِتْمَايَةَ سِتَّةَ وَسِتِينَ (١)  
 فَمَنْ كَانَ لَهُ قَلْبٌ فَلْيَفْهَمْ وَيُولَدُ مِنْ أَمْتَيْنِ وَالْأَرْضُ تَضْطَرِبُ فِي أَيَّامٍ

(1) C'est une des devinettes particulières à la langue arabe. Aux lettres de l'alphabet correspondent des chiffres. Il y a deux façons de compter au moyen des lettres : ou bien en prenant la valeur respective des lettres qui composent un mot et en faisant l'addition ; ou bien en donnant aux lettres leur valeur selon la place qu'elles occupent dans le mot. Selon la première manière les chiffres 606, indiqués pour le nom de ce roi, donneraient plusieurs combinaisons de mots et on ne peut obtenir un résultat certain ; selon la seconde, les chiffres traduits en lettres ne donnent pas de nom propre, mais l'adjectif **وسخ** qui veut dire sale.

When it (punishment) comes to him because of the Messiah, he will be saved, as the Holy Gospel says, "He who is patient until the end will be saved." <sup>36</sup>But he who is not patient and doubts, woe to him forever. Many Christians in that time will deny Christ for a short time that does not last. Some deny Christ because of troubles they experience, because they do not find anyone to teach them and encourage them in their troubles. They are without the help of teaching. Many fall because the world is too much for them and their reason is bound by it. There is no-one to refute them and they fall. Some fall because of pleasure in eating and drinking only. Some fall because of idleness and sin. Then their brothers and wives do not weep for them or grieve over them, but glory in them and eat and drink with them. Thereafter they will envy them and become like them. Like them they will deny Christ. Woe to those who are like them, for their place in hell is a deep well forever."

Gregory said to him, "My holy father, do you think the matter will take some time ? How long will this difficulty last and how long will this nation be dominant in Egypt ?" Samuel replied, "My father Gregory, nobody knows how times are regulated and change, except the Creator alone. But if the Christians are good and turn aside from their wicked works and fulfill the laws of the Church, but follow them carefully, attentively and uprightly before God, God will lift these tribulations from them. But if they are not good, then the kingdom of the hegira will continue for generations until a king called Lasmarini, the numerical value of his name being 666. <sup>37</sup>Let the one who has a heart understand. He is born of two nations. The earth will be disturbed in the days

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<sup>36</sup> Luke 21,19

<sup>37</sup> F.Nau, in a note following Ziadeh's publication on p 407, offers an explanation of how the number 666 can be determined, but I am unable to understand it. For the identification with Mametios, whose name does add up to 666, see R. Griveau in *ROC* 19 p. 442. It occurs to me that if one in fact reads Lasmarini, it is possible that this name is a hybrid Arabic-Coptic name meaning 'the one dark of (al-asmar) aspect (ⲉⲓⲛⲉ)



ملكه ولباسه لون الذهب وهو شجاع في نفسه وهو يبذل انسان الى الموت على دينار وليس في ايامه راحة وليس في وجهه حياة وهو منسى لخوف الله وليس له عند ذكّر (fol. 29<sup>v</sup>) وليس يعمل بنواميس ابيه لانه اسماعيلي ولا مذهب امه فانها افرنجيّة وهو خليل السكر وسفّاك الدما واتعاب كثيرة تنالها الناس في ايامه وهو يقتل اناس كثير بغتة ويكون على الناس شدة عظيمة في تلك الايام ومنتظرين رحمة الله من كثرة الشدائد المتواترة عليهم من بني اسماعيل ومن بعد هذا يذكر الرب شعبه الذي قد ذلّ جداً فيرسل عليهم ملك الروم بغضب عظيم من ناحية البحر لان ميكايل رئيس الملائكة يظهر له في الرويا ويقول له انهض وردّ السبي فان الله قد ملكك على الارض كلها وهكذا يملك على الارض كلها وان ملك الحبشة يصنع فساد عظيم في ارض اباهيم في ناحية المشرق وتهرب الهجرة الى القفار التي كانوا فيها اولاً يهربون من ملك الحبش من المشرق وملك الروم ينزل على بني اسماعيل ويحوطهم في وادي الحفار مسكن آبايهم ويهلكهم من الوجه الغربي ويفرقهم وخوفاً [خوف] عظيم ورعب يقع على بني اسماعيل وكل من يلوذ بهم والله يسلمهم الى ملك الروم فيهلكهم بحد السيف ويسبيهم لانهم اهلكوا الارض فلذلك بحكم عدل يسلمهم الله الى ملك الروم وهو يصعب عليهم مثل ما صعبوا بالحق مائة ضعف ويكونوا في مسكنة وضيق وتعب وغلا وسيف ويحضر ملك الروم الى ارض مصر ويحرق مدينة المصريين المسماة بابلون لان بني اسماعيل فيها كملوا نجاساتهم ويخرب ارض الجوف ويعذب بني اسماعيل بالعبودية وكثرة الاتعاب (fol. 29<sup>v</sup>) والذين يقوا منهم اذن يهربون الى قفار اباهيم وملك الحبشة يتزوج بنة [بنت] ملك الروم وتكون سلامة عظيمة وصلاح واتفاق على كل وجه الارض اربعين سنة لم يكن مثلهم على الارض ويكون فرح عظيم للنصارى ويفتحون ابواب كنائسهم علانية وينون بيوت ويغرسون كروم وينون قصور عالية ويفرحون بالرب الههم الويل للذين يدعون هجرة في تلك

of his reign. His garments will be gold-coloured. He will be audacious in his soul and will take a man's life for a dinar.<sup>38</sup> There will be no peace in his time. His face will be lifeless. He is unaware of the fear of God. He has no memory. He does not carry out the laws of his father, because he is an Isma'ili and his mother has no religion, for she is a foreigner (Frankish). He is a friend of drunkenness and is bloodthirsty. People will suffer much in his days. He will kill many people unexpectedly. There will be great strain in these days, awaiting the mercy of God from many trials inflicted on them by the sons of Isma'il. <sup>39</sup>Afterwards, the Lord will think of his people which has suffered so much humiliation and He will send against them the Byzantine <sup>40</sup>King in great anger from the direction of the sea, for Michael the Archangel will appear to him in a vision and will say to him, "Arise and reject captivity, for God has made you King over the whole land. Thus, he will possess the whole land. The King of the Abyssinians will cause great destruction in the land of their fathers in the direction of the east. The hegira will flee to the deserts where they were before. They will flee before the King of the Abyssinians from the east. The Byzantine King will descend upon the son of Isma'il and surround them in the Wady el Hafar,<sup>41</sup> home of their fathers. He will destroy them from the western side and disperse them. Great fear and alarm will fall upon the sons of Isma'il and everyone who seeks shelter with them. God will deliver them to the Byzantine King and he will destroy them with the blade of the sword. He will take them prisoner because they have destroyed the land. For this reason, in the interests of justice, God will deliver them to the Byzantine King, and he will be hard on them, a hundred times more in truth than they themselves were. They will be subject to poverty, hardship, distress, rising prices and the sword. The Byzantine King will enter the land of Egypt and burn the city of the Egyptians called Babylon because the sons of Isma'il are in it. They have performed defiled acts and ruined the land of Al Jouf<sup>42</sup>. He will chastise the sons of Isma'il with slavery and many tribulations. Those of them who remain will flee to the deserts of their fathers. The King of Abyssinia will marry the daughter of the Byzantine King and there will be peace, quiet and harmony in the land for forty years such as one has not seen on earth. There will be great rejoicing among Christians, who will open the doors of their churches in public, they will build houses, plant vineyards, build tall buildings and rejoice in the Lord God. Woe to those who who call upon the hegira in these days.

<sup>38</sup> One can merely speculate that this is an echo of Rev. 6,6, where the χοῖνιξ σίτου δηναρίου is usually understood to be the living ration for a day.

<sup>39</sup> A reference to the Fatimids ? I wonder if the burning of Baylon actually refers to the burning of Fustat, ordered by the vizier Shawar to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Crusader Amalric (a story allegedly recorded by al Maqrizi).

<sup>40</sup> The Arabic term is 'rûm', a fairly standard way of referring to the Eastern Roman Empire. The standard Semitic way of referring to Greeks was 'yunân', also the term used in Coptic ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲉⲛⲓⲛ

<sup>41</sup> Could this be the place now known as Hafar al Batin in the NE of the country, formerly a stop-off place on the pilgrimage route to Mecca.

<sup>42</sup> Does this simply mean 'empty space' or is the province in S. Arabia on the border with Jordan ?



الايام ومن بعد الاربعين سنة هذه هي العلامات التي تكون للملك  
الوحيش ان العيون [عيون] الماء والانهار تصير دم ويمكنوا ساعة واحدة  
وهم دم ومايهم مرة والعلامة الثانية ان الاطفال يتكلموا وهم في ثلاثة  
اشهر والعلامة الثالثة اذا حصدت الحقول يخرج الدم من الترابي  
حيثذ الحكما يهربون الى الجبال لان بعد ذلك تخرج الامة الي هي  
محبوسة بحزى [بحزا]؟ الارض من العرب وهم التفريين هاجوج وماجوج  
فتضطرب الارض امامهم ويهرب الناس الى الجبال والمغايير والقبور  
ويموتوا من الجوع والعطش وان هذه الامة تفسد الارض خمسة اشهر  
وبعد ذلك يرسل الله ملاكه فيهلكهم في ساعة واحدة ويملك ملك الروم  
على الارض سنة وستة اشهر ويكون مقامه في يروشليم وبعد ذلك  
يطلع الله الملك من على الارض ويظهر الوحيش الذي هو المسيح  
لكذاب ويعمل علامات كثيرة وآيات بعنطسة بطالة حتى انه ان امكنه  
فهو يضل [يضل] الاصفيا كما كتب (fol. 30<sup>r</sup>) ويعتمد عليه عشرة ملوك  
من ملوك الروم ويكونوا معه رأي واحد ويثبتوا له الملك طوبا  
لمن يحاربه ويغلبه فانه يملك مع المسيح في الجيل الآتي  
الى الابد هؤلاء [هذه] سمعتم [سمعتم] من فم القديس انا  
صمويل انا افلوا تلميذه اخبركم بهم (1) [بها] يا اخوتي الاحبا واما  
الذي تحدث هو بهم سرّينه وبين الاسقف انا اغريغوريس لم  
اكتبهم لان ابونا انا صمويل اوصاني ان لا اكتبهم في هذه الموعظة  
وهؤلاء ايضا لم اريد ان اكتبهم لان اكثر الاخوة يعرفوهم وقد سمعوهم  
من فم ايننا انا صمويل وانما كتبهم للاجيال الآتية كما اوصاني الاب  
انا صمويل فالذي يسمع ويعمل فهو يتخلص والذي يخالف فهو ينال  
كما يستحق ويجازى مثل خلفه فالان يا اخوتي فلنصنع بما يليق  
بالتوبة لكي نجد رحمة ووجه بسيط في يوم حكم الحق الذي فيه

(1) Ces différents pronoms ne doivent s'employer que pour les personnes.

After the forty years these are the signs of the wicked king. (The first sign): the springs and rivers will turn to blood and will remain so for an hour, their water will be bitter. The second sign: babies will speak when they are three months old. The third sign: during the harvest blood will spring from the ground. The wise will flee to the hills. After that, the nation will come forth which is isolated in the part of the earth from the Arabs, they are the repellent Hagog and Magog.<sup>43</sup>

The earth will tremble before them and men will flee to the hills, the caves, the graveyards. They will die of hunger and thirst. This nation will defile the earth for five months. After that God will send His angel to exterminate them in an hour. The Byzantine King will take possession of the land for one year and six months. He will live in Jerusalem. After that God will remove the King from the face of the earth. Then the Evil One will appear, the False Messiah. He will make many signs with vain display<sup>44</sup>. If he can, he will lead astray the best of friends, as it is written.<sup>45</sup> Ten Byzantine Kings<sup>46</sup> will support him and will be a single counsel for him. They will strengthen him. Blessed is the one who opposes him and overcomes him. He will be king with the Messiah in future generations for ever."

I heard all these thing from the lips of the holy Anba Samuel, I his disciple Apollo, and I have told them to you, my brothers. As for what he said in secret to Anba Gregorius, Anba Samuel advised me not to write it. This discourse and what I have said here is not for the brothers who know them because they have heard them from the lips of, but for future generations, on the recommendation of our father Anba Samuel. He does them and practises the will be saved. But the one who disobeys will have the reward he deserves and he will be treated and punished accordingly.

Now, my brothers, let us do what is appropriate for repentance so that we may find mercy and an open face on the day of judgement, on which

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<sup>43</sup> Eschatological figures/places known in Judaism, Christianity and Islam and even found their way into the traditions of Britain and Ireland.

<sup>44</sup> It looks as if the copyist has misunderstood this word. After the preposition the next letter should be 'fa', which would then yield 'fantasa', corresponding to the Greek 'phantasia' and also used in VitaSam (e.g. §7 to describe the entry of Cyrus into the Fayum) to indicate 'vain display', which is clearly an extension of its meaning 'illusion, delusion, vision' (GWH Lampe *Patristic Greek Lexicon* p.1471)

<sup>45</sup> Mat. 24,11

<sup>46</sup> Also mentioned in the Pisentius letter published by Griveau in *ROC* 19: 321

يجازي الله كل واحد كنحو عمله خير كان ام شر والله الرووف  
 يوهلنا ان نجد رحمة ومغفرة لخطايانا بطلبات ايننا القديس انبا  
 سمويل وبشفاعة والدته الاله البتول في كل زمان والمجد للاب والابن  
 والروح القدس الان وكل اوان والى دهر الداهرين امين \* امين \* امين \*  
 كملت الموعظة المقدسة بسلام من الرب امين  
 امين

### TRADUCTION

(F. 20 r.) *Apocalypse de Samuel, supérieur de Deir<sup>(1)</sup>-el-Qalamoun.*

Au nom du Père et du Fils et du Saint-Esprit, un seul Dieu; gloire à Lui. Amen.

Avec le secours de Dieu, qu'il soit béni, nous commençons à écrire un discours de notre saint père Anbá Samuel, supérieur de Deir-el-Qalamoun. — Que sa prière soit avec nous! — Amen.

Il a fait dans ce (discours) quelques récits sur les événements qui auront lieu sur la terre d'Égypte sous le règne de l'hégire arabe. A ce discours assistait Grégorius, évêque d'El-Qais, venu pour le visiter et obtenir la guérison d'une maladie qu'il avait, lui évêque. Quant à Apollo, le disciple du saint père Anbá Samuel, il attend de ce discours un grand profit pour celui qui le lira, l'observera et accomplira ce qui y est écrit. Lorsque les émigrants arabes se furent emparés de l'Égypte, ils étaient peu nombreux: mais ils multipliaient leurs bienfaits envers le peuple chrétien. C'est alors que nos frères les moines commencèrent à s'entretenir à leur sujet avec le père Anbá Samuel, lui demandant si leur domination sur la terre d'Égypte devait longtemps se prolonger ou non. Et le saint, en la présence de l'évêque, poussa un soupir du fond du cœur et dit: « Béni soit Dieu qui a établi les temps en leur fixant une limite, qui exalte une nation et en abaisse une autre, qui détrône et élève les rois. Ne croyez pas, mes enfants bien-aimés, que cette nation est agréable aux yeux de Dieu parce qu'il a livré cette terre à leurs mains; car la sagesse de Dieu est insondable pour les humains et il n'y a personne qui puisse connaître les œuvres du Créateur ni la fin des temps si ce n'est lui seul. — Je vous fais part, mes enfants, des maux nombreux que les hérétiques

(1) Deir: couvent, monastère.

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God will treat everyone according to the intention of his works, whether good or bad. Merciful God will make us fit to find grace and forgiveness of our sins, through the prayers of Anba Samuel and the intercession of the Mother of God, the Eternal Virgin. Glory be to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and at all times in the future. Amen.

The blessed sermon has been completed in the peace of the Lord. Amen. Amen.